New Latino Diaspora and New Zones of Language Contact: A Social Constructionist Analysis of Spanish Speaking Latin Americans in Catalonia

Steve Marshall
Simon Fraser University, Canada

1. Introduction

A great deal of literature has focused in recent years on Latino migration and language contact in the US, between Spanish and English, and between the different varieties of Spanish spoken by new migrants. There is also a body of emerging literature on Latin American migration, identities and language contact outside of the Americas: Spanish speaking Latinos in London (Block, 2005), Brazilian new migrants of Japanese ethnicity in Japan (Hirataka, Koishi & Kato, 2000), and Spanish speaking Latin Americans in Catalonia, Spain (Marshall, 2005; 2006).[1] Of interest in the case of Latino migration to Catalonia is how Latin American Spanish speakers fit into, and interact within, the complex existing sociolinguistic norms of practice that have historically determined choices in interactions between speakers of Catalan and Iberian Spanish.[2] Within these norms, strong links can be found between language and identity, a link that is often enacted through code selection and codeswitching, and in which ethnolinguistic identification of other interlocutors plays a key role. In this regard, the presence of Latino new migrants can in many instances alter interlocutors' expectations around norms of practice: Latino new migrants are speakers of allochthonous marked varieties of the official language of the Spanish state (with its own complex history vis à vis Catalan), and in many cases, Latinos are identifiable as Latin American by accent and/or physical appearance. Interactions involving *allochthonous* varieties of Latin American Spanish and *autochthonous* Catalan and Iberian Spanish, therefore, challenge many of the existing paradigms of sociolinguistic analysis around language use and codeswitching in Catalonia (Woolard, 1989; Pujolar, 2001; Turell, 2001), and require new frames of sociolinguistic analysis. New frames of sociolinguistic analysis need to take into account the changing complex interrelationships between language, migration and identity that globalization has helped to bring about; they also need to focus on the social, historical and demographic aspects of group and individual language use that relate to local sites of empirical investigation.

This paper will present and analyze data on language contact between Latin American Spanish and Catalan, following a social constructionist approach to sociolinguistic analysis which attempts to take into account the above factors by linking language use, and perceptions around language use, to the key social, historical and demographic aspects of new migrants' lives in Catalonia.

2. Immigration and new sociolinguistic agencies

Over the last two decades, there has been unprecedented immigration into Spain, a country associated historically with emigration of its peoples to the Americas and northern Europe. Cities such as Madrid and Barcelona have been rapidly transformed into multicultural and multilingual cities.

---

[1] For convenience, I use the term 'Latino' in this paper to refer to Spanish speaking Latin Americans.

[2] The term 'Iberian Spanish' will be used in this paper to refer to all varieties of Iberian Spanish, although in some transcriptions participants use the term 'castellano' (Castilian) for the same purpose, as is the norm in Catalonia.

While official figures recorded a foreign population of only 1.9% in Barcelona in 1996, the figure had risen dramatically to 14.6% by 2005 (Departament d'Estadística, Ayuntament de Barcelona, 2005). Many of these new migrants are Latinos, as illustrated in the table below, which gives official figures for the largest non EU populations in Barcelona between 1996 and 2005:

Origin	1996	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	04-05 %
Ecuador	202	2,703	8,204	17,975	26,891	32,946	31,828	- 3.4
Peru	2,094	5,669	6,879	8,646	10,964	13,163	15,037	+ 14.2
Morocco	3,196	6,074	7,165	9,751	11,985	13,594	14,508	+ 6.7
Colombia	703	2,288	4,708	9,616	12,429	13,307	13,935	+ 4.7
Argentina	1,871	1,750	2,504	4,547	9,516	11,437	12,439	+ 8.8
Pakistan	614	2,129	3,405	6,112	9,944	10,198	11,997	+ 17.6
China	804	1,929	2,460	3,303	5,272	7,195	9,534	+ 32.4
Bolivia	110	268	583	1,116	2,455	4,810	8,314	+ 72.8
Dom. Rep	1,066	3,349	4,136	5,031	5,947	6,777	7,218	+ 6.5
Philippines	1,854	2,758	3,176	3,859	4,903	5,871	6,470	+ 10.2

(source: Departament d'Estadística, Ayuntament de Barcelona, 2005)

Additional complexity is added to the case of language contact between Latin American Spanish and Catalan by the fact that Latino new migrants are arriving in Catalonia during a key stage of the normalization of the Catalan language. As part of an attempt by language planners to put Catalan on an equal footing with Spanish after years of repression during the twentieth century, Catalan is now officially the language with preferential status in institutional settings as well as being officially defined as the language that defines the Catalan people.[3] Latino new migrants are, therefore, exercising their sociolinguistic agencies in a highly reflexive, heteroglossic sociolinguistic environment, where complex issues around nationhood, language and identities are contested at many competing levels: from the language policies of linguistic normalization down to everyday interactions and codeswitching in individuals' daily lives.

3. Analytic Framework

There have been many sociolinguistic studies in recent years that have looked at issues related to bilingualism, identity, codeswitching and norms of language use in Catalonia, focusing mainly on interactions between speakers of Iberian Spanish and Catalan. Among the most notable major sociolinguistic studies on Catalonia in recent years are Woolard (1989), Pujolar (2001), and related chapters in Turell (2001).

Woolard (1989) described two key norms of sociolinguistic practice in Catalonia: an 'accommodation norm' and a 'bilingual' norm. In a general sense, 'accommodation' is defined by Spolsky as 'a common tendency for the pronunciation of the two [codes] to move slightly closer together' or for two individuals to modify their speech in the direction of the new norm or interlocutor (Spolsky, 1998: 42). Edwards highlights individuals' social status and the prestige of their languages as being closely related to accommodation, stating that accommodation can be upward and downward, towards or away from high status speech variants (Edwards, 1994). Woolard's (1989) use of the term 'accommodation norm' is related but distinct: it refers specifically to the common practice of Catalan speakers of switching to Iberian Spanish in interactions with Iberian Spanish speakers (and today,

---

[3] According to the Llei de Política Lingüística (1998) (Language Policy Law), Catalan and Castilian are both accorded co-official status, yet Catalan also defines the Catalan people: 'Catalan is Catalonia's own language and distinguishes it as a people' (Preliminary Paper: Article 2.1). Catalan is also given preferential status in key areas: 'The language preferentially used by the State Administration in Catalonia…' (Preliminary Paper: Article 2.2b) (Llei de Política Lingüística, 1998).

speakers of Latin American Spanish). Such accommodation would typically involve identification of the other speaker in terms of membership of speech community, by physical appearance or accent, then code selection (with or without code switching), and often a mainly monolingual interaction in Iberian Spanish.

The prevalence of an accommodation norm means that less Catalan is being spoken, and it also denies those who are learning Catalan practice with Catalan speakers. The social use of Iberian Spanish by Catalan speakers maintained through the accommodation norm is thus viewed by some Catalan commentators as a danger to the survival of Catalan. The accommodation norm leads commentators such as Prats et al (1990, in Strubell, 2001) to believe that Catalan is facing unprecedented danger due to the prevalence of social bilingualism in the Catalan speaking community. Such commentators see social bilingualism as unstable, and thus a risk, as Iberian Spanish is in effect the only language of communication which is truly indispensable in all social domains, whilst there are no domains where Catalan is the only language used (Strubell, 2001). Moreover, once a Catalan speaker selects or switches to Iberian Spanish with an unknown interlocutor, this interpersonal norm often sets the precedent for future interactions. As stated by Pujolar (1992), language choice is often embedded in the history of interlocutors' relationships; after the original process of negotiation, it settles and becomes a norm for interactions between the individuals concerned.

Woolard (1985, 1989) also describes a 'bilingual norm', which involves interactions in which neither speaker switches; instead, the interaction is maintained by each interlocutor speaking their respective language. This practice is described as 'passive bilingualism' in Pujolar (2001) and as 'reciprocal bilingualism' in Marshall (2005). This use of the term 'reciprocal' has two key aspects of reciprocity in mind: to refer to an *inverse* form of bilingualism, and one in which each interlocutor maintains their own code *mutually*, rather than switching.

Pujolar (2001) employs a discourse analysis approach in his study of young people in Barcelona, following frameworks set out by Fairclough (1989) and (1992). In his study, Pujolar emphasizes power relations on the basis of texts, gender, and the processes that produce and reproduce social disadvantage. He focuses on gender as the key aspect of social identity in the peer group context; he also mentions ethnicity and class as being important in understanding young people's cultural practices, especially in their management of heteroglossia, 'the socially stratified diversity of speech forms'. Pujolar suggests that young people's incorporation of the ways of speaking of various social groups is part of their symbolic construction and expression of their position in relation to power relations between groups (Pujolar, 2001).

Language use in Catalonia is also analyzed in Turell (2001). The chapter by Pradilla (2001), for example, describes patterns of language behaviour in Catalonia, focusing on interference (codeswitching, borrowing, syntactic calque, semantic calque) and domains of language use.

In Marshall (2005), the new sociolinguistic agencies of Spanish speaking Latin Americans in Catalonia are studied following a social constructionist approach, focusing on structure, agency and recursivity (Giddens, 1984). Giddens' *structuration theory* (1984) joins the traditions of hermeneutics or interpretative sociology (focusing on the individual) with macro approaches of structural sociology such as structuralism and functionalism (which emphasize the preeminence of the social whole over its individual parts) (Giddens, 1984: xx-xxi; 1). Central to structuration theory is the inter-relationship between structure and agency. For Giddens, 'structure' is not a form of *objectivism* that is external to knowledgeable agents in the functionalist or structuralist mould; rather agents are seen to play a part in the construction of structure though their actions. Such human actions are defined as *recursive*, not brought into being by social actors, but continually recreated by them (Giddens, 1995: 2).

Within the contexts of Latinos in Catalonia, therefore, the important aspects of structure to consider are the historical representations and imaginings of Catalan and Catalanness through to present day language policies, as well as the structures of Latin American new migrants' countries of origin. And following a social constructionist approach to knowledge formation and language use, an important focus on agency is on how Catalan is being 'constructed' by Latinos at two levels: [i] Latinos' incorporation of Catalan into repertoire in intergroup and ingroup interactions, and [ii] how and why individuals form conflicting constructions of being addressed in Catalan (Marshall, 2005).
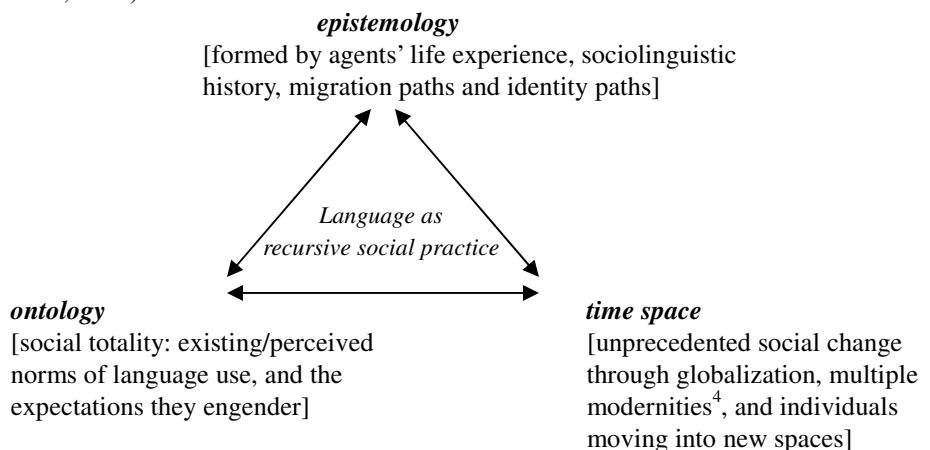
It is important, however, to avoid a one-sided oversimplification that would portray Spanish speaking Latin Americans as merely encountering Catalan through their agency within the structure of

their own life paths and experience; Catalan is also encountered through *Catalan speakers*, who in turn are making linguistic choices as expressions of their own "agency within structure". Whilst both groups' respective "agencies within structure" may converge in a synchronic sense at the level of social and linguistic interaction in daily life paths, their agencies may be based upon distinct diachronic perspectives and epistemological grounding. Many Spanish speaking Latin Americans may be basing their agency upon sociolinguistic histories, or structures, grounded in Latin American countries where the sense of Spanish monolingualism and nationhood are closely linked, and where 'other' languages, in particular the indigenous minority languages of the Americas are socially excluded. In contrast, the agency of many Catalan speakers may be based upon very distinct diachronic perspectives, or epistemologies: those of a linguistic minority group that has undergone centuries of oppression and exclusion within the Spanish state. Thus, constructions and misconstructions of *the code of the other* may take place from both sides.

3.1 Transitional agencies and structure

Within such an analytic framework, Latinos' interactions involving Catalan intergroup and ingroup can be understood in terms of 'transitional agencies': that is, new migrants reflexively applying their sociolinguistic knowledge by exercising sociolinguistic agencies in transition, within the new structures of Catalonia yet still influenced by the old structures of countries of origin. This transitional aspect of agency adds a new angle to Giddens' structure and agency framework.

Giddens' theory rejects what is seen as the *dualism* between the concepts of structure and agency, grounded in issues of epistemology and ontology. He argues that the basic domain of study of the social sciences is 'neither the experience of the individual actor, nor the existence of any form of societal totality, but social practices ordered across space and time' (Giddens, 1995: 2). Giddens' view, however, that the basic domain of the study of social science is the ordering of social practice across space and time, rather than personal experience [epistemology] or societal totality [ontology] is rebalanced in Marshall (2005) in a way which gives equal weight to *time space*, *epistemology* and *ontology*. Whilst the ordering of time and space may be relevant in terms of what individuals do in the daily space and time that they occupy, personal experience and development of personal sociolinguistic histories (epistemological factors) may be more so. Therefore, in order to understand how Latinos are constructing Catalan, in other words their transitional, recursive sociolinguistic practice, the recursive view of structure and agency is better understood if individuals' language as recursive social practice is positioned within an equally balanced triangular analytic framework as illustrated in (Marshall, 2005):

epistemology
[formed by agents' life experience, sociolinguistic
history, migration paths and identity paths]

*Language as
recursive social practice*

ontology
[social totality: existing/perceived
norms of language use, and the
expectations they engender]

time space
[unprecedented social change
through globalization, multiple
modernities[4], and individuals
moving into new spaces]

---

[4] The term 'multiple modernities' is used in Marshall (2005) to refer to social, cultural and linguistic spaces in which the defining features of tradition, modernity, late modernity and post modernity coexist, and overlap, thus facilitating diachronic-synchronic links.

4. Constructing Catalan: Iliana and Mariana

The data excerpts presented in this paper will illustrate how the framework illustrated above can be used to form understandings around individuals' language use and their perceptions around how and why they use language. The focus is on one aspect of Latino new migrants' constructions of Catalan: how individuals are incorporating Catalan into repertoire in intergroup interactions, presenting an example of language use that although not common, highlights how certain new sociolinguistic agencies challenge existing analytic frameworks and perceptions around what makes up 'normal' sociolinguistic practice.[5]

The data excerpts presented in this paper come from a study carried out between 2000 and 2004 in and around Barcelona. As part of the study, 44 informants were interviewed, of whom 35 were Latin American Spanish speakers. Recordings of language use were then made of 11 of the group, with participants wearing a visible minidisc microphone as they carried out daily activities. All informants who were recorded could speak Catalan, albeit with varying degrees of competence, and informants were asked to use Catalan where they felt it appropriate. The data in this paper is the self report data and recorded interaction of two participants: Iliana, a Colombian domestic worker, and Mariana, a Venezuelan artist. Iliana's self report data on how she uses language will be preceded by some of her reflections around her experiences as a new migrant in Catalonia. Then an excerpt of Mariana's recorded interaction will be presented, to be followed by her reflections on the recorded interaction. In each case, the combined data will illustrate how issues of epistemology, ontology and time space can come together to form understandings around this particular site of language contact.

4.1 Iliana

Iliana understands a little Catalan but only speaks a few words. She works in bars and domestic work and described a traumatic migration:

"y tuve una, me quiso pegar y todo la mujer, porque no le quería limpiar el suelo de rodillas, yo trabajaba en un restaurante, ella había derramado una copa de cava […] y me agachaba un poco para complacerla, pero la tía quería que me pusiera de rodillas, me decía "negra" que me pusiera de rodillas, y bueno insultándome"

"and there was one, the woman wanted to hit me and everything, cos I didn't want to clean the floor for her on my knees, I was working in a restaurant, she had spilt a glass of cava [Catalan champagne] […] and I bent over a bit to keep her quiet, but the woman wanted me to get on my knees, she called me "black this" I should get on my knees, and well insulting me"

"yo llevaba seis meses aquí, y echaba loca llevaba un abrigo blanco, una bufanda blanca, y yo era tan morena, y viene un chico insultándome […] y el chico me ha dado un botazo, me ha pegado con la bota, bam, y he quedado, cuando me golpeó que, sí, yo intenté hacer un paso adelante y él se quedó muy cerca su cara a la mía, pero así, y me dijo que yo era una anormal, me dice "tú eres anormal hija de puta", me deprimí, una semana un bajón y todo ¿sabes? […] es una experiencia que nunca nunca voy a olvidar"

"I'd been here for six months, I was dressed a bit crazy wearing a white coat, a white scarf, and I was really brown, and a guy comes up and starts insulting me […] and the guy booted me, he kicked me with his boot, he booted me, bam, and I ended up, when he hit me, yeah, I tried to step forward and he got his face right up close to my face, like that, and he told me that I was abnormal, he says, "you're

---

[5] A discussion of another level of construction, how and why individuals are forming conflicting constructions of being addressed in Catalan in intergroup and ingroup interactions, can be found in Marshall (2006). The work focuses on individuals' knowledgeability and reflexivity (Giddens, 1984; Bourdieu, 1994), and on how conflicting epistemologies can determine individuals' reflexive applications of sociolinguistic knowledge, particularly with unknown interlocutors.

abnormal you daughter of a whore", I got depressed, I was down for a week and everything, you know? […] it's an experience I'll never forget"

Iliana often expressed negative sentiments about learning and being addressed in Catalan, despite having several Catalan speaking friends:

"y le digo aparte, yo prefiero hablar el español que es un idioma que es el cuarto idioma mundial antes de hablar el catalán que lo hablan cuatro *iaios* (*abuelos*)[6] más de sesenta años todos"

"and I say this, I prefer to speak Spanish which is a language that is the fourth world language than speak Catalan which is spoken by four *iaios* (*grandfathers*) all over sixty years old"

Iliana also felt resentment at language policies that gave Catalan preferential status over Spanish. She is referring to language policies that have officially made Catalan the sole medium of instruction in schools, even though in many cases it is common for teachers to engage in complex codeswitching in classes:

"yo pienso que se debe hacer proporcional, ¿sabes? mitad y mitad, porque es que no se puede, es una imposición, ellos siempre les fue muy mal y tienen mucho rencor contra Franco porque Franco les prohibió hablar catalán, pero ellos también son franquistas, porque ellos ahora, ellos están haciendo exactamente lo mismo"

"I think it should be proportional, right? half and half, because you can't just, it's an imposition, they always had a bad time and they have a lot of bitterness against Franco because Franco banned them from speaking Catalan, but they're also franquistas[7], because now they're, they're doing exactly the same"

At the same time, and paradoxically, Iliana described with pleasure how she borrows words from Catalan and mixes them with Colombian costeño Spanish. She is referring below to a visit to the beach with her Catalan speaking friends:

"me metí en el agua y, y estaba el agua, estaba pero super bien, y digo, "*aquesta aigua està molt* chévere" (*está agua está muy* chévere) o sea, toda la frase en catalán pero le quedaba el chévere costeño allí, y y bueno me han dicho en castellano o el español me dicen "nos está jodiendo el idioma" [laughs] "es que tía nos estás jodiendo el idioma" […] o sea no me entienden ellos que yo haga esto pero yo qué sé, a mi me dan ganas de hacerlo, me gusta"

"I got into the water and, and the water, it was really nice, and I say "*aquesta aigua està molt* chévere" (*this water is really* great"), like, the whole phrase in Catalan but the costeño 'chévere' stayed there, and and like they said to me in castellano or in Spanish they say to me "she's fucking up our language" [laughs] "listen woman, you're fucking up our language" […] you know they don't understand why I do it but I dunno, I feel like doing it, I like to"

4.2 Mariana

Mariana is a Venezuelan artist, working as an actress and singer. Mariana speaks Catalan, and enjoys improvising linguistically with Catalan and marked Venezuelan Spanish.

It is fiesta day in the neighbourhood, and Mariana is going from noisy bar to noisy bar handing out information about the play that she is promoting. In the recorded interaction below, Mariana enters a

---

[6] In the transcriptions, Catalan terms, and translations into Spanish and English of Catalan terms, are presented in *bold and italics*.

[7] Franquista here means acting like Franco.

local bar alone, initially wearing a mask from the play, and carrying a cuatro guitar with the Venezuelan flag on:

"Mariana: ***bona tarda familia! ai quantes cares conegudes, tu! quina*** vaina ***més maca!*** (***qué*** vaina ***más buena***)
Male customer: vaya cubana mala
Mariana: ¡cubana no! ¡cubana no! ¡venezolana, chico! bueno, ***faig la promoció, fem la promoció de l'espectacle "Animal Music", "Animal Music", músics que són animals***

"Mariana: ***good afternoon family! ah so many familiar faces around! quina*** vaina ***més maca!*** (***what a great*** thing!)
Male customer: look at that bad Cuban woman [to Mariana]
Mariana: not Cuban! not Cuban! I'm Venezuelan little man, right then*, **I'm promoting, we're promoting a show, "Animal Music", "Animal Music", about some animal musicians***

5. Analysis

Although only two short utterances that were unusual rather than normal in the data collected, Mariana's "***quina*** vaina ***més maca!***" (***what a great*** thing!), and Iliana's "***aquesta aigua està molt*** chévere" (***this water is*** great) can also be understood as representing the ways in which new sociolinguistic agencies can challenge existing norms of practice, interlocutor expectations, and existing analytic paradigms.

Firstly, Mariana's and Iliana's use of marked Venezuelan/Colombian vernacular embedded within a marked Catalan utterance could not be explained solely according to Woolard's (1989) accommodation and bilingual norms; the two norms have their roots in the autochthonous Catalan-Iberian Spanish codeswitching practices that predate the mass migration of Latinos and the arrival onto the scene of allochthonous Latin American Spanish. In fact, it could even be argued that such utterances go against, and even intentionally subvert, existing and perceived norms of language use and the expectations that they engender.

Equally, the insertion of the Colombian/Venezuelan vernacular terms chévere and vaina cannot be adequately described according to the forms of lexical borrowing described in Turell's (2001) collection. Admittedly, a structural descriptive analysis of the utterances could be made in terms of parts of speech and position in the phrase. Such an approach could focus on the following: marked Colombian/Venezuelan Spanish lexemes vaina [noun] and chévere [adjective], and their positions in the phrases: vaina [before an adverb] and chévere [after an adverb]. This would throw some light onto *how* this unusual form of codeswitching is constructed, but would leave the reader still wondering *why* it is being used.

In addition, the utterances in question involve multiple levels of markedness, making binary analysis according to markedness difficult. For example, Mariana's utterance, presents the other interlocutors with three separate levels of markedness, in an interaction involving at least three codes: varieties of Catalan, Iberian Spanish and Latin American Spanish. Mariana is addressing the customers in a bar (who would be a mixture of Iberian Spanish and Catalan speakers) in *Catalan*, which would be interpreted as a *marked* form for her (a Spanish speaking Latin American) to use with unknown interlocutors in the contexts of this part of Catalonia. Another level of markedness can be found in Mariana's insertion of a Spanish term in the Catalan utterance. And finally, the use of a term such as vaina is an additional level of markedness within Latin American Spanishes, identifying the speaker as perhaps Venezuelan or Colombian. A similar description could be made of Iliana's use of the term chévere. These multiple levels of markedness challenge analytic models of markedness such as those in Scotton (1983) and (1988). According to Scotton's model, use of the *unmarked* form is interpreted as representing *recognition of the status* quo, whilst use of the *marked* form is seen as a *negotiation of rights and obligations*. However, in the case of Mariana's and Iliana's utterances, three levels of markedness have been highlighted, complicating a binary analysis. Moreover, whilst other interlocutors may well have knowledge of 'indexicality', as Scotton would argue, (that is, they can

relate the selection of marked and unmarked code to wider factors), they would have had at least three codes, and three levels of markedness.

The two examples being discussed here can, however, be interpreted from alternative perspectives that build upon those mentioned above. As a starting point, both examples can be understood as utterances that represent the key characteristics of 'new sociolinguistic agencies' that challenge existing norms and analytic paradigms, as described in Marshall (2005: 96):

> "the presence of new languages, new and transitional sociolinguistic practices (often based on sociolinguistic practices in other countries), and associated identities. In terms of Spanish speaking Latin Americans in Catalonia, the key aspect is the involvement of a third code, in interactions involving Catalan and Castilian: *Latin American Spanish*, which is *allochthonous*, *marked* and *comprehensible* to Catalan and Castilian speakers, often spoken by members of visible minorities, and which can have the effect of altering existing *bilingual* codeswitching norms".

A key factor to consider is that Iliana and Mariana are speakers of varieties of Spanish that would often be identified as being from Latin American coastal or Caribbean speech communities where significant numbers of the population have African ancestry. Both Iliana and Mariana referred to their physical appearance and to the colour of their skin in interviews when reflecting upon how their language use is received in Catalonia; as stated above, ethnolinguistic identification plays a key role in code selection and code switching in Catalonia. In this sense, the utterances can be understood as claims by Iliana and Mariana for legitimacy to use Catalan, and for specific identification as Colombian/Venezuelan.

It is also valuable to understand Iliana and Mariana's utterances as examples of code 'crossing' (Rampton, 1995). Rampton (1995) analyzes the crossing of youths in the UK involving Panjabi, English Creole, and Stylised Asian English, and defines crossing as follows:

> "Crossing […] focuses on code alternation by people who are not accepted members of the group associated with the second language they employ. It is concerned with switching into languages that are not generally thought to belong to you. This kind of switching, in which there is a distinct sense of movement across social or ethnic boundaries, raises issues of social legitimacy that participants need to negotiate" (1995: 280).

According to Rampton, crossing occurs in many forms, which are influenced by socio-historical factors, local social relationships, and specific interactional dynamics, impacting upon normal social relations:

> "The ethnolinguistic boundary transgression inherent in code-crossing responded to, or produced, liminal moments and activities, when the ordered flow of habitual social life was loosened and when normal social relations could not be taken for granted" (Rampton, 1995: 281).

And as argued by Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004), such crossing of codes brings out a weakness in binary models of markedness such as Scotton's (1983; 1988).

An approach that would complement Rampton's definition of crossing would be to analyze Iliana's and Mariana's language use as language as recursive social practice within a triangle of epistemology, ontology and time-space.

On one level, the utterances can be seen as reflecting Mariana's and Iliana's epistemological grounding: their own paths of migration (here [Catalan] and there [Latin American vernacular]), their identity formation (self [Latin American vernacular] and other [Catalan]).

At another level, Mariana's and Iliana's utterances may also be interpreted as reflecting their perceptions about what is perceived to be socially *normal* (ontology) and their desire to subvert normality by crossing codes and using marked Latin American vernacular terms within marked Catalan utterances. This sophisticated reflexive application of sociolinguistic knowledge can have the effect of subverting the expectations about what constitutes normal sociolinguistic practice (ontology).

And finally, both utterances could also be understood according to Mariana's and Iliana's own altered time space relations, and transition, along their respective sociolinguistic paths: they are *here*, at the bar/beach, having fun, and they cross into to the code of *here*, but inserting a very marked adjective of *there*, applying the global to the local. And in an unusual twist, Iliana later presented in the interview a fascinating mirror image of this strategy as she described saying **adéu** (**goodbye**) to her fellow passengers on the bus while visiting family in Santa Marta, Colombia.

5.1 Researcher constructs versus informant constructs

In order to avoid imposing researcher constructs that could lack validity and credibility about the language use and perceptions around language use of participants, follow up interviews were carried out with a number of participants in the study. Participants were asked to reflect upon their language use, and in certain cases, participants were asked to analyze the transcripts of the recordings made of their interactions.[8]

Mariana had already explained in an earlier interview that her normal code of interaction with unknown interlocutors would be Spanish. However, she also added that she often uses Catalan and that she also enjoys mixing Catalan and Venezuelan Spanish. Clearly, despite Mariana's usage being the result in part of a manipulation (she had been asked to use Catalan where she felt it appropriate), it was one which Mariana was not completely unfamiliar with herself. In fact, in an interview with a Dominican participant, Claudia, and her Catalan-speaking husband, Miquel, Claudia referred to Mariana's use of Catalan:

"*SM*: [regarding the football match] lo vi con el esposo de Mariana, la venezolana, que él es muy hincha de..
Claudia: **t'en recordes de la Mariana?** (¿*te acuerdas de la Mariana*?)
Miquel: **sí** (*sí*)
Claudia: **vam anar a la Boquería,** [a market in central Barcelona] **i un xou, amb la guitarra, hola bon dia, que parlava català i la gent li parlava castellà, sí, que era…** (*fuimos a la Boquería, y un show, con la guitarra, hola buenos días, hablaba catalán y la gente le hablaba en castellano, sí, que fue*…)
Miquel: **al veure que era llatina, li parlàven en castellà, és normal** (*al ver que era latina le hablaban en castellano, es normal*)"

"*SM*: [regarding the football match] you know Mariana, the Venezuelan, I saw it with her husband, he's a real fan of..
Claudia: **do you remember Mariana?**
Miquel: **yeah**
Claudia: **we went to the Boquería** [a market in central Barcelona] **it was a show, with her guitar, hello good morning, she spoke Catalan and the people spoke back in Castilian, yeah, it was..**
Miquel: **when they saw she was Latina, they spoke to her in Castilian, it's normal**"

In a follow-up interview with Mariana, I asked her about her use of the marked form vaina in the middle of the Catalan utterance. Mariana had earlier explained that she was often identified as a Cuban or Dominican; hence, my understanding of it as a researcher was that it meant 'look at me, I'm a Venezuelan, look at the flag, I'm not Cuban, and it's OK for someone like me to speak Catalan!':

"*SM*: ¿por qué usas vaina allá?
Mariana: es, es una manía que tengo, usar las expresiones venezolanas como para, es como una manera de evidenciar, ¿no? la palabra venezolana vaina, es, mucha gente lo identifica principalmente con Venezuela y a veces con Colombia también, entonces es así como, hacer una **barreja** (**mezcla**), de de venezolano con catalán, pero por manía mía, no hay ninguna motivación especial"

---

[8] The discussion here is limited here to Mariana's use of the term vaina. See Marshall (2005) for a detailed discussion of the wider issues and discrepancies emerging at this emic level of data analysis.

"*SM*: why do you say vaina there?
Mariana: it's a, it's a strange habit I have, to use Venezuelan expressions like to, as a way of making evident, you know? the Venezuelan word vaina, is, lots of people identify it principally with Venezuela and sometimes Colombia too, so it's like, making a ***mix***, of Venezuelan with Catalan, but it's my own peculiarity, there's no special motivation"

While on many occasions informants constructions' did not entirely match the researcher constructs, on this occasion there was a match to a certain degree. Moreover, Mariana's assertion of Venezuelan-ness also matches Zentella's (1997) description of Latinos (in the US) preferring national identification, rather than Latino identification; it also matches the desire of another participant in the study, Gilma, to differentiate herself as a Venezuelan from other Latin Americans (Marshall, 2005). Again, an assertion of Venezuelan-ness can be seen in Mariana's response below to a question about why she felt she was addressed as a 'cubana mala':

"*SM*: y ¿qué opinas de la 'vaya cubana mala'?
Mariana: lo de mala no sé por qué lo dirán, no sé si se lo dirán por traviesa, pero lo de cubana ya estoy tan acostumbrada, que por mi aspecto físico, morena y de cabellos rizados y tal, la gran mayoría de las veces la gente piensa, a la primera que soy cubana, y ya después piensan si les digo después que no soy cubana entonces me dicen 'ah entonces debe ser dominicana' pero rara vez aciertan a la primera, mi nacionalidad, pero es como un lugar común, es como que si todas las mulatas tiene que ser cubanas a la fuerza, ¿no? y si no son cubanas pues son dominicanas"

"*SM*: and what do you think about the 'look at that bad Cuban woman'
Mariana: the bad bit I don't know why they'd say it, I don't know if they'd mean mischievous, but the Cuban bit I'm so used to it, because of my physical appearance, brown skin and frizzy hair, and the like, people nearly always think, first that I'm Cuban, and then they think if I tell them that I'm not Cuban, then they say to me 'oh, so you must be Dominican' but they rarely get it right first time, my nationality, but it's commonplace, it's as if all the mulatta women have to be Cuban as a result, no? and if they're not Cuban then they're Dominican"

Nonetheless, the fact that Mariana was then addressed as 'cubana mala' by the male customer in the bar would suggest that Mariana's attempt to be identified as Venezuelan through the conscious insertion of Venezuelan vernacular was not successful. The other interlocutor may have recognized 'vaina' as marked Latin American Spanish vis à vis Iberian Spanish, but not as marked Venezuelan vis à vis other Latin American varieties.

Overall, the follow up interviews with Mariana, and with other informants, added a valuable *emic* perspective to the data analysis, giving it greater validity and credibility, providing additional perspectives and insight into informants' interactions. This was the case both when informants' constructs matched and differed from researcher constructs. This is additionally important for two reasons. Firstly, if it is being argued that participants' interactions constitute applications of sociolinguistic knowledge, it is very useful to find out what informants *know* about their own language use. And secondly, if such interactions are to be understood as recursive rather than static, as is being argued in this paper, bringing in informants' constructs around their own linguistic agency into data analysis, and highlighting key areas of discrepancy therein, can help to prevent the insertion of *researcher constructs* that lack validity and credibility into the perceived recursive social practices of participants.

6. Conclusion

This paper has put forward a social constructionist framework of sociolinguistic analysis in an attempt to form a framework that can position and form understandings around transitional sociolinguistic agencies according to wider social, historical and demographic factors. Admittedly, a lot of analysis has been made of two key utterances. It would be a danger to read too much into these

two examples of codeswitching: one is a single self report, and the other an isolated utterance in recorded data where the data collection process was manipulated somewhat through asking a participant to specifically use Catalan where appropriate. Nonetheless, certain overall conclusions can be reached.

Participants' language use has been analyzed in this paper as 'language as recursive social practice'; hence, it should be understood as recursive as described in Giddens (1984): language use that *reflects* 'old' and 'new' structures, and which will inevitably *engender change* in structures, and in others' sociolinguistic practices. In this case, the norms of the structures of *here* are challenged by an outsider crossing into the code of *here*, and at the same time, inserting a marked vernacular term of *there*. In this sense, the utterances can be interpreted more widely as representing a sociolinguistic manifestation of a demand for a place for the *allochthonous* within spaces traditionally dominated by the *autochthonous*.

To sum up the recursive angle, this new type of sociolinguistic agency may still be limited. However, such language use is emblematic of the challenges that policy makers face in bringing forward a linguistic normalization model based on 'normalities' that are being fractured by globalization, often via the medium of languages and their associated identities. In the cases analyzed above, Iliana and Mariana are using codes in new ways for new purposes, which with time will inevitably become more normal and widespread, and perhaps gain wider acceptance as such.

References

Block, D. (2005) 'Spanish speaking Latinos in London'. In D. Block *Multilingual Identities in a Global City: London Stories*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Bourdieu, P. (1994) *Language and Symbolic Power*. Cambridge Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Departament d'Estadística, Ajuntament de Barcelona, (2005) online: http://www.bcn.es/estadistica/catala/dades/inf/est/pobest/pobest05/pobest05.pdf, accessed May 7th, 2005.

Edwards, J. (1994) *Multilingualism*. London and New York: Routledge.

Fairclough, N. (1989) *Language and Power*. London: Longman.

Fairclough, N. (1992) *Discourse and Social Change*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Giddens, A. (1984) *The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Hirataka, F., Koishi, A. & Kato, Y. (2000) 'On the Language Environment of Brazilian Immigrants in Fujisawa City'. In M. G. Noguchi & S. Fotos (Eds) *Studies in Japanese Bilingualism*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Llei de Política Lingüística, (Language Policy Law) (1998) online: http://cultural.gencat.es/llengcat/legis/act1.html, accessed February 7th, 2001. (English version).

Marshall, S. (2005) *Spanish-speaking Latin Americans in Catalonia: constructions of Catalan*. Unpublished PhD thesis, Institute of Education, University of London.

Marshall, S. (2006) 'Spanish-speaking Latin Americans in Catalonia: reflexivity and knowledgeability in constructions of Catalan'. In C. Mar Molinero & M. Stewart (Eds) *Globalization and Spanish: macro and micro perspectives*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Pavlenko, A. & Blackledge, A. (2004) 'Introduction: New Theoretical Approaches to the Study of Negotiation of Identities in Multilingual Contexts'. In A. Pavlenko & A. Blackledge *Negotiation of Identities in Multilingual Contexts*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Pradilla, M. A. (2001) 'The Catalan-Speaking Communities'. In M. T. Turell, (Ed) *Multilingualism in Spain. Sociolinguistic and Psycholinguistic Aspects of Linguistic Minority Groups*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Prats, M., Raffanel, A & Rossich, A. (1990) *El futur de la llengua catalana*. Barcelona: Empúries.

Pujolar, J. (1992) 'Language Choice Patterns in Equal Encounters among bilingual university students in Catalonia'. *University of Lancaster Centre for Language in Social Life, Working Papers Series 43*.

Pujolar, J. (2001) *Gender, Heteroglossia and Power: a sociolinguistic study of youth culture*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Rampton, B. (1995) *Crossing: language and ethnicity among adolescents*. Harlow Essex: Longman.

Scotton, C. (1983) 'The negotiation of identities in conversation: A theory of markedness and code choice'. *Journal of the Sociology of Language* 44, 115-136.

Scotton, C. (1988) 'Codeswitching as indexical of social negotiations'. In M. Heller (Ed) *Codeswitching: Anthropological and sociolinguistic perspectives*. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Spolsky, B. (1998) *Sociolinguistics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Strubell, M. (2001) 'Catalan a Decade Later'. In J. A. Fishman, (Ed) *Can threatened languages be saved*? Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Turell, M. T. (Ed) *Multilingualism in Spain. Sociolinguistic and Psycholinguistic Aspects of Linguistic Minority Groups*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Woolard, K. A. (1989) *Double Talk: Bilingualism and the Politics of Ethnicity in Catalonia*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Zentella, A. C. (1997) 'Spanish in New York'. In O. García & J. A Fishman (Eds) *The Multilingual Apple: languages in New York City*. Berlin, Mouton de Gruyter.

Selected Proceedings of the Third Workshop on Spanish Sociolinguistics

edited by Jonathan Holmquist, Augusto Lorenzino, and Lotfi Sayahi

Cascadilla Proceedings Project   Somerville, MA   2007

Web access and citation information

This entire proceedings can also be viewed on the web at www.lingref.com. Each paper has a unique document # which can be added to citations to facilitate access. The document # should not replace the full citation.

This paper can be cited as:

Marshall, Steve. 2007. New Latino Diaspora and New Zones of Language Contact: A Social Constructionist Analysis of Spanish Speaking Latin Americans in Catalonia. In *Selected Proceedings of the Third Workshop on Spanish Sociolinguistics*, ed. Jonathan Holmquist, Augusto Lorenzino, and Lotfi Sayahi, 150-161. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Proceedings Project.

or:

Marshall, Steve. 2007. New Latino Diaspora and New Zones of Language Contact: A Social Constructionist Analysis of Spanish Speaking Latin Americans in Catalonia. In *Selected Proceedings of the Third Workshop on Spanish Sociolinguistics*, ed. Jonathan Holmquist, Augusto Lorenzino, and Lotfi Sayahi, 150-161. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Proceedings Project. www.lingref.com, document #1536.